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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a study of the components of political leadership and emphasizes problems of women in attaining positions of political leadership. The authors use the term political leadership to describe the decision-making mechanism within organizations. First they review their survey of the personnel of a large organization. Respondents were asked how they thought about their organization in terms of issues including politics, satisfaction and loyalty, organizational flexibility, and perceptions of elitism. Responses of men and women were compared. The more women saw the organization as being political, the more likely they were to view it in a negative (elite) rather than positive (flexible) way and the less likely they were to be satisfied and loyal to it. Men saw the organization as political and were more positive and satisfied at higher levels within it. A review of literature revealed that political behavior is predominant at high levels of decision making within organizations and that informal friendship and information-sharing coalitions are vital to successful leaders. Women are poorly prepared for high level leadership positions because of their early socialization to be nurturing, role conflicts between masculine and feminine behaviors, and the tendency of male leaders to want to keep their power cliques homogeneous. The authors suggest that women seeking political leadership develop coalitions to generate support, operate opportunistically, disclose positions strategically, always have an option when negotiating, use humor, and be clear on willingness to take risks. (AV)

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POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR WOMEN:
A STATEMENT OF THE CASE,
AN EDUCATION IN TACTICS

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WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP PROJECT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Political Leadership for Women..... 1

Figure 1. Political Pervasiveness by Sex and Level..... 5

Figure 2. Friendship Utility by Sex and Level..... 6

Figure 3. Elitism by Sex and Level..... 7

Figure 4. Flexibility by Sex and Level..... 8

Figure 5. Satisfaction-Loyalty by Sex and Level..... 9

The Political Climate at High Levels of Organizations..... 10

The Impact of Political Decision Making on Women..... 14

Political Leadership--A Guide to Tactics..... 20

References..... 28

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR WOMEN:

A STATEMENT OF THE CASE, AN EDUCATION IN TACTICS

Political leadership is a term used to describe the decision-making mechanism within organizations. Such decision-making is often, of necessity, arrived at through political processes rather than through the rational-economic process of collecting information, identifying and evaluating the outcomes of alternative solutions, and selecting the solution which best fits organizational goals. Because of the quantity of information required of one utilizing the rational-economic model, many decision makers tend, instead, to employ a simplified understanding of the environment to arrive at a satisfactory, if not optimum, solution. This simplified view is influenced by one's position, experience, formal channels of communication, and informal relationships within the organization.

Thus, informal coalitions function as political systems for obtaining consensus, allocating resources, and defining issues. Organization members who are interested in competing successfully and surviving seek to be actively involved as central members of the coalition. The greater the resources already controlled, the greater is the need to protect those resources by participation in political networks. Thus, the higher one's level within the organization, the greater becomes that

individual's involvement in politics. Decision making at such levels becomes political, and political leadership is essential for a decision maker to function successfully within the organization.

The authors had an experience which illustrates how the political process operated within such an organization. We had taken leave from the university at the invitation of an organization's chief executive to improve the training department. We had clear support from the top and were optimistic about our ability to bring modern training methods and systematic evaluation of programs to the organization. One of us was placed in the position of division director and had basic discretion over focus and funding; the other had a chance to do careful research and evaluation on an important topic in as thorough and ideal a way as either of us thought possible. We had clear internal control and the support of the inherited training staff. Our early success at implementing programs encouraged us, and we initiated more programs and stepped up our plans for implementation.

But we started to hit snags, leaders became resistent, and our success rates began to falter. Personnel changes above us made things more difficult, and we became discouraged. We knew our professional ideas were sound. We had visible proof that our methods were working, but a serious flaw occurred in our overall strategy: we had failed to account for the political environment that existed at the top level of the organization. We were outsiders and did not have a network of relationships; we were urgent in our approach to change and did not develop the patience and timing needed to be effective over the long haul.

While we were inconsistent in our success, we were still able to

remain observers of happenings in the organization. We were able to see the power exchanges at high levels and the way politics operated. There were old boy networks (with the exception of one woman who was an insider) whose members used horse-trading rules as they pressed for their way in giving the organization direction: bargain tough, never show all you've got, and always retain an option (sometimes called an emergency exit gate).

Although we were both males, we had a hunch women who also operate at high levels experienced the same thing we did, but for clearly different reasons. We shared with women the experience of being outsiders to the old boy system: Women were outsiders because they were female; we were outsiders because we were new faces from the university.

We had an opportunity to check out our perceptions of women's satisfaction and knowledge of politics at high levels. As researchers, we had asked questions (through the use of a survey instrument) of the total population about how people thought about several issues, including politics, satisfaction and loyalty, organizational flexibility, and perceptions of elitism. We were able to make comparisons of differences between men and women on these questions at different levels of the organization. The level of the organization was estimated from organization members' reports of their personnel classification pay group. The twenty pay groups of the organization were collapsed into five levels, each consisting of four pay groups.

The lowest level consisted of manual laborers and part-time employees. The second level consisted largely of clerical staff, data entry operators and administrative technicians who sort and process mail, edit and process forms, and other paperwork functions which are largely

mechanical. The third level included para-professionals, new professional employees (largely accountants), supervisors of non-professionals, and "accounts examiners." Level four was made up of senior professionals (auditors, attorneys, economists), supervisors of professional employees, and middle level supervisors of non-professionals. The fifth level consisted of upper level management, division directors, and the director's immediate subordinates of larger policy-making divisions.

Our first question was whether politics was seen differently by men and women. We had two groups of questions which could provide an answer. One group was called the political pervasiveness factor; the other was called the friendship utility factor. The questions that made up each group were as follows:

Political pervasiveness:

To what extent is it important to know who you can talk to comfortably in this organization?

To what extent is it important to know the power position of the person you are addressing in this organization?

To what extent is it important to be well-informed before you begin to talk to someone in this organization?

To what extent is it important to develop a set of "contacts" to use in any situation which might arise in this organization?

To what extent is it important for a successful leader to have a "link" with the chief official of this organization?

Friendship utility

To what extent are friendships used for obtaining information

quickly in this organization?

To what extent are friendships used in becoming aware of problems in this organization?

The results of the comparison of these two factors, according to male-female versus level of the organization, are shown in Figures 1 and 2 below.

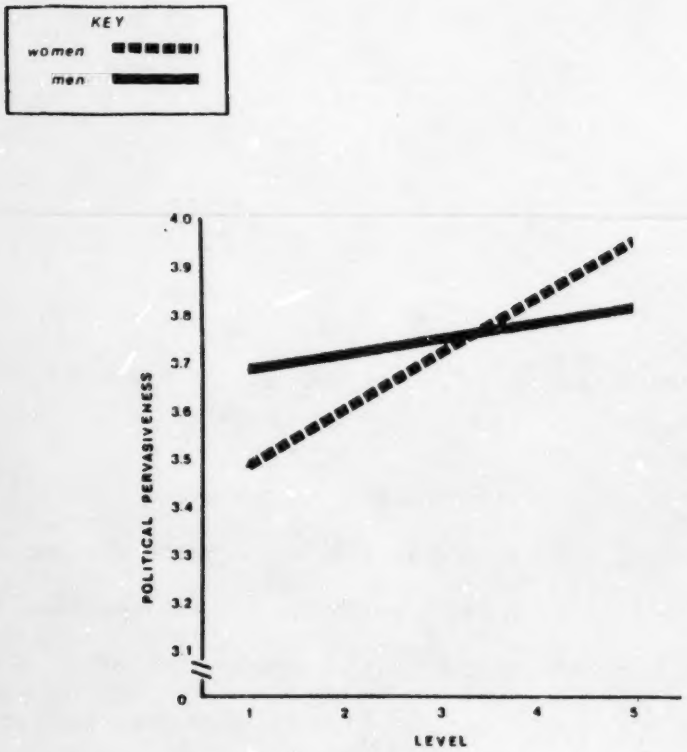

Figure 1

Political Pervasiveness by Sex and Level

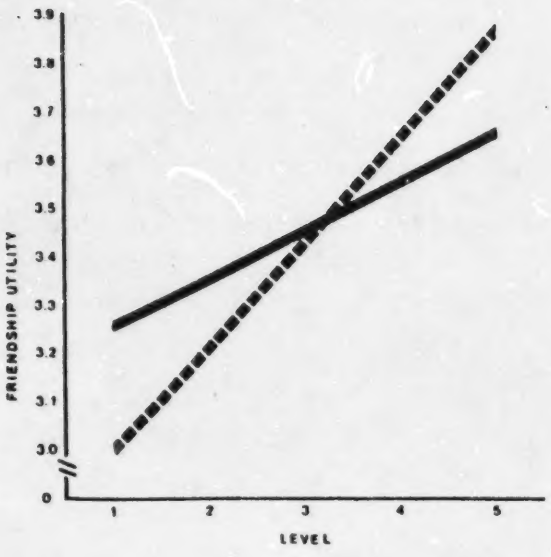

Figure 2

Friendship Utility by Sex and Level

The results of the comparison supported our prediction. Women's perceptions of politics were more likely to change as they moved higher in the organization, while men's perceptions were less likely to change. Men's views were more constant without regard to level. The view commonly held by men in this organization was that the level of politics was generally high. Women at lower levels saw the organization as being less political, but women's perceptions changed sharply towards perceiving a highly political environment as they reported from high level positions.

The questions on elitism and flexibility further corroborated

the political findings as shown below. The elitism and flexibility questions were as follows:

Elitism

To what extent are leaders of this organization motivated by their commitment to the political career of t. agency director?

To what extent do the people who lead this organization view themselves as an elite team?

Flexibility

To what extent is it possible for a person to achieve recognition and advance quickly in this organization?

The results of the elitism and flexibility questions compared to sex and level were as follows:

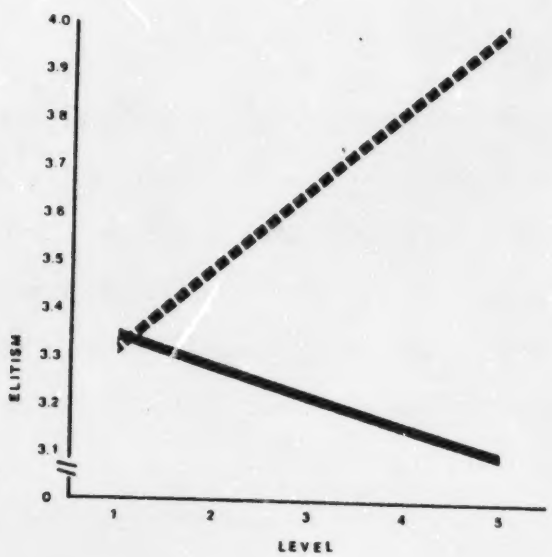

Figure 3

Elitism by Sex and Level

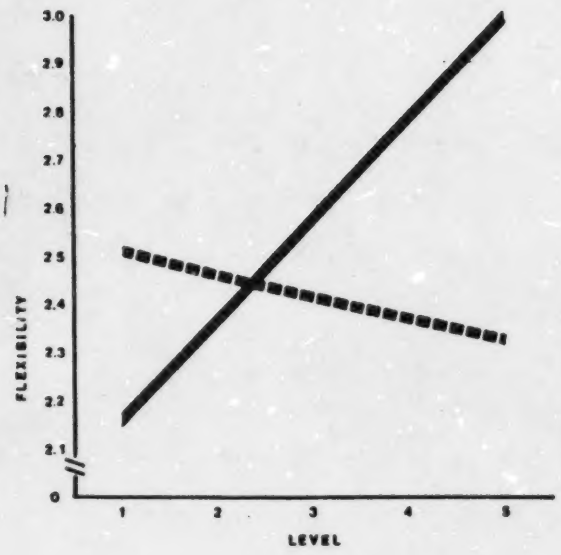

Figure 4

Flexibility by Sex and Level

While women were more likely to see a sharp increase in the somewhat negative dimension of elitism at higher levels, men at higher levels reported a sharply decreasing perception of this dimension. Men's perceptions of the more positive dimension of flexibility showed similar results. As the level of pay group increased, men were more likely to see the organization as being flexibile; the opposite view was true for women.

The next dimension reported, satisfaction-loyalty, provides a useful comparison to the political, elite and flexibility factors already reported. The satisfaction-loyalty questions were as follows:

Satisfaction-Loyalty Factor

To what extent do you have a feeling of loyalty toward this organization?

All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?

All in all, how satisfied are you with this organization compared to most others?

To what extent do you enjoy performing the actual day-to-day activities that make up your job?

How much do you look forward to coming to work each day?

To what extent are there things about working here (people, policies, or conditions) that encourage you to work harder?

To what extent do you feel a responsibility to help the organization be successful?

The results of the satisfaction-loyalty questions compared to sex and organization level were as follows:

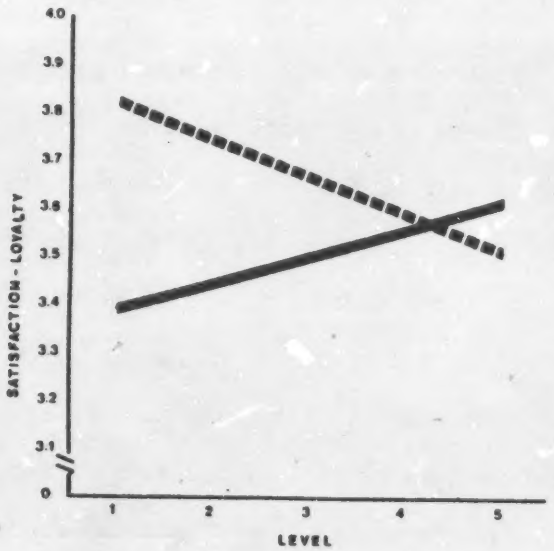

Figure 5

Satisfaction-Loyalty by Sex and Level

The combined interpretation of these results shows that our political naivete, struggles and frustrations from dealing with politics were compatable with views held by women. The more women saw the organization as being political, the more likely they were to view it in a negative (elite) rather than positive (flexibile) way and the less likely they were to be satisfied and loyal to the organization. Men, without regard to level, saw the organization as being political and were more positive and satisfied at higher levels of the organization. As we spent time searching for ways to understand our findings, we came across two important bodies of literature that helped us to explain the political nature of organizations at high levels and why, given their work and professional history, women would have trouble adapting to and being successful in the political environment.

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE AT HIGH LEVELS OF ORGANIZATIONS

The most important theme of the literature on organizational politics was the predominance of political behavior at high levels of decision making in organizations. This is true whether the organization is effective or ineffective, or whether the goals of the organization are lofty--such as education or religion (c.f. Weick, 1976) or pragmatic and economic--such as profit-making industry (c.f. Salanick and Pfeffer, 1977).

In fact, education and religion seem more likely to be political than economic organizations because of problems of rationality. In a rational-logical organization, a decision maker collects information about a problem, identifies and evaluates the outcomes of alternative

solutions, and selects the solution which best fits organizational goals. This model, though accurate in some settings, fails to acknowledge what March and Simon (1958) have called the limits of rationality. In large, complex organizations the quantity of information needed often overloads the decision maker's communication channels and exceeds his/her capacity to process information sensibly. Thus, decisions tend to be made on the basis of a personal understanding of the environment. This common sense view is influenced by one's position, experience, formal channels of communication, and informal relationships within the organization (March and Simon, 1958).

Informal relationships are especially important if the organization has goals that are difficult to define (what is quality education?) or where means of achieving goals are also uncertain (which is best for clients, rational-emotive therapy or gestalt therapy?). In such settings, goal selection and resource commitment are often heavily influenced by informal networks. Political support is sought through informal communication networks within the organization. These networks provide members with a path to action, early warning about forthcoming decisions, interpretation of bureaucratic messages, and a sense of belonging (Johnson and Browning, 1979). Subunit conflicts are negotiated through the creation and maintenance of coalitions which provide for the negotiation of disputes to be in private. This allows decision makers greater flexibility in offering and accepting commitments, provides the opportunity to send out "trial balloons," and avoids the problems of public commitment to proposals and preferences. To be effective negotiators, members seek to know others' preferences and the arrangement of power relation-

ships to the coalition. Members must be seen as having resources (expertise, influence, manpower, etc.) valued by others.

The distribution of influence in the coalition varies depending on the nature of the critical issues facing the organization. Salanick and Pfeffer's (1977) contingency theory provides that the most influential members at any time will be those who control the most urgently needed resources. For example, the influence of financial experts is likely to rise when an organization faces severe cash flow problems. After the problem has passed, those with financial expertise are likely to retain their high power until another issue causes a shift to units controlling other valuable resources. Shifts in the informal coalitions provide a mechanism for responding to a dynamic environment while maintaining a reasonably stable formal structure. The informal network is the mechanism through which new problems are defined, disagreements are resolved, and policy commitments are exchanged.

The informal coalitions function as political systems for obtaining consensus, allocating resources, and defining issues (Thompson, 1967). Thus, organization members who are interested in maintaining and expanding their resources seek to be actively involved as central members of the coalition. The greater the resources already controlled, the greater is the need to protect those resources by participation in political networks. Decision makers seek to stabilize their resources by negotiating commitments within coalitions.

These political processes may be more or less pervasive in the range of issues referred to the coalition and in the extent to which informal processes cut across vertical and horizontal structures of the

organization.

An individual's involvement in politics is likely to increase at higher levels in the organization. At lower nonprofessional levels, jobs have little discretion, and goals are often operational. With fewer choices to make and reasonably clear criteria for choosing among alternatives, the economic model is more likely to be used. The lack of wide discretion limits the ability to control resources to the extent that one often has no commitments to exchange with others. In contrast, people who occupy higher positions have greater control over resources because of their access to information, expertise, and the work time of subordinates. This discretion provides the opportunity to exchange commitments with others (March and Simon, 1958; Thompson, 1967).

Individuals in higher positions not only have greater opportunity to enter into political systems, they also have a greater need to do so. By having control over some resources, such members are likely to meet demands from others attempting to maximize their own resources. In order to promote the work of their subunits, leaders must seek to create and maintain sufficient resources to accomplish work successfully. In order to maintain a sufficient domain of authority over their responsibilities, decision makers work to obtain slack resources which can be exchanged without depleting the resources required by their subunits (Cyert and March, 1963; Salanick and Pfeffer, 1977). An individual whose major resource is expertise needs to generate a need in others for the expertise. Only when expertise is valued by others is it a useful (and therefore negotiable) resource.

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL DECISION MAKING ON WOMEN

As their membership changes from almost exclusive participation at lower levels to include managerial and executive positions, the issue of organizational politics has become important for women in organizations. While women have occupied higher level organization positions in the past, they have been rare enough in number and unique enough in their roles--either high level professional (doctor, lawyer, professor, artist) or family connected to the organization--that generalizable findings on women's social-personal characteristics in relation to performance in top positions have been rarely studied. However, recent qualitative research on women in organizations (Henning and Jardin, 1977; Kanter, 1977), combined with experimental research on sex differences provide some conclusions about women in high level positions.

First, there is little preparation for women to function in leadership positions involving bargaining and ambiguity. Such positions require a defined set of internal professional values related to goals, an independent ability to operate in both tacit and direct ways to achieve goals related to those values, and an ambition or energy to pursue goals in an environment of conflict and competition.

The early socialization of young males is highly consistent with the demands of top positions in organizations (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz and Vogel, 1972). As children, boys have been taught to be tough, competitive, ambitious, and in the future to seek out a woman to marry and provide for. The middle class male is trained from the beginning to seek out a career--a sequence of movements and the contingencies for movement from one position to another (Becker, 1963)--

and to seek out a woman who can provide the emotional and logistical support necessary to function well in a demanding effort (Prather, 1971). In this sense, the traditional male-female role training has goodness-of-fit for the demands of high leadership positions. For a man, the ambition and competition are a source of strength in the bargaining process, the desire for a career keeps an opportunistic eye toward the next position or a future context, and a service unit provided by the woman assures an uninterrupted focus on the task (Kanter, 1977). All these characteristics fit well with the strategic game-like model that is important at high levels in defining what the formal and informal goals are and how one moves toward them.

The traditional socialization of females is almost opposite of males with consistent counter effects on leadership training (Prather, 1971; Hennig and Jardin, 1977). Female training for nurturence and support is consistent with the goal of marriage and a family with a major responsibility in that structure. But as the technology of this century has changed the nature of work from a predominantly agrarian physical activity to an urban mental activity, it has created the opportunity for women to abandon male dominant-female dependent roles traditional socialization produces. Although conditions have changed, there is a cultural lag in the expectations of women, reinforced by themselves and men, which is counter to women's effective functioning in high level leadership roles (Coser and Rokoff, 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975).

The effect of long-term socialization of women toward a family rather than a career has created a series of role and personal style conflicts that detract from women's work satisfaction and performance.

Although women have been contributing to the paid labor force for a number of years, their effort has taken the form of extra work or helping out to supplement family income. Until recently, the ultimate goal and upper middle class value for women has been to reach the level of financial security in a family that requires no work at all (Epstein, 1970). The desire to not work is supported by the inequity over domestic chores and responsibilities when a woman does work. Hall and Gordon (1973) report that among married women, home pressures are the most important contribution to role conflicts and the conflicts experienced were strongly related to their perception of what men expect to see in women (Gordon and Hall, 1974). The desire for male approval is particularly confusing when men express higher esteem for working women than housewives, and concurrently express preference for traditional wives whose major concerns center around the needs of the husband and family (Komarvsky, 1973). O'Leary (1974) argued "the ideological position (in favor of working women) may be expected to assume a secondary place in the fact of daily living requirements in the eyes of even the most enlightened man" (p. 817).

The behaviors necessary to be an effective manager also are a source of conflict for women. The managerial model is essentially a sex role-appropriate one. McGregor (1967) identifies it as such:

> The model of the successful manager in our culture is a masculine one. The good manager is aggressive, competitive, firm and just. He is not feminine, he is not soft and yielding or dependent or intuitive in the womanly sense. The very expression of emotion is widely viewed as a feminine weakness that would interfere with effective business processes. (p. 23)

The difficulty of this role is that it leaves women in a double bind. If she successfully emulates the masculine characteristics deemed essential for the job, she is called "unfeminine," "aggressive" or other terms considered derogatory for women. If she does not demonstrate these characteristics, she may be considered inadequate for the job (Prather, 1971).

The role conflict over domestic versus professional issues, the training for service roles, and the binds over masculine-femine behaviors necessary to be a manager have caused women (in contrast to men) to be job-focused rather than career-focused.

To "have a job" means that (1) the work is defined by someone else: "you show me the job and I'll do it"; (2) the work may have interesting qualities, but is primarily done for financial reasons; (3) the work is specific enough about its demands to allow a distinction between work and the woman's other responsibilities; (4) the work allows for evaluation of results to be clear and the assessment of a quality effort to be unambiguous (Hennig and Jardin, 1977).

The orientation of women toward jobs rather than careers causes a focus on short-term technical and professional roles to the exclusion of opportunities to perform at higher levels of the organization. Hennig and Jardin (1977) provide an arch-typical example of this phenomenon. A woman who had demonstrated high technical competence in computer systems was given an eighteen month assignment to take over the company's action programs for women. She had been in the job six months when her boss requested her to develop a presidential policy statement to the company's president the following weekend. When presented with the request, the

woman manager declined by listing the tasks and meetings she had to complete over the next week. In effect, the woman had been offered, and had not heard, an opportunity to present and solidify her work for presidential approval that would potentially have had far-reaching effects for her and the organization. But her commitment to the immediate task had caused her to miss an ambiguously presented opportunity from her boss. The focus on present skills and requirements rather than future possibilities is, according to Hennig and Jardin, related to the way women respond to risk:

> Men see risk as loss or gain, winning or losing, danger or opportunity, women see risk in entirely negative terms: loss, danger, injury, ruin. They see it as something one avoids if possible. Men see risk as affecting the future; you take your gamble now in order to achieve some later career advancement. Women, on the other hand, see risk only in current terms--the threat of losing what they have achieved so far. (1977b, p. 78)

In addition to the socialization, role conflict, and job focus issues that cause women to be unprepared for high level leadership positions in organizations, selection processes by the people at the top (predominantly men) cause women to be rarely selected. A major reason for women not being selected is connected to the original issues of ambiguity and change in political environments. Since the decision makers are already dealing with extensive environmental uncertainty, they search for as much control or consistency as they can muster. A major way of doing this is to select leaders as much like themselves as possible. Homosocial reproduction--because of uncertainty, reliance, and trust--becomes a personal issue. "The greater the uncertainty, the

greater the pressure for those who have trust in each other to form a homogeneous group" (Kanter, 1977, p. 49).

Leaders' strength is also evaluated by their ability to select people who can operate as effective problem-solvers in the environment. Unless some specific mandate existed or environmental condition made women particularly desirable, a leader would be spending power on a policy decision to draw women into leadership positions. In short, based on the bargaining mode, there are few incentives to treat the inclusion of women as anything other than a legal requirement to be obliquely traversed by placing women in positions with pay and title only.

Women's promotions into positions of leadership provide no assurances they will be included in decision-making processes. Since decision-making frequently takes place informally, it is also likely to occur in informal settings (after work, over drinks, or around sports events) in which professional women are less likely to be included. Membership in informal groups is often earned by demonstrating understanding of informal rules--one earns the right to enter the "old boy" network and entry is more difficult for women (Harragan, 1977).

The long-term socialization of women in dependent roles with men compounds the problem that women experience in role and behavior changes. In addition to the difficulty of making the personal changes of moving from a dependent-supportive role to an independent-assertive one, women experience the difficulty of desiring the approval of men for verifying the change.

Veroff (1969) sees woman's self-concept as produced by an empathetic, intuitive, person-oriented style of perception, causing affili-

ation to be seen as an achievement and affirmation of the self. This places women in the position of desiring to change roles and desiring male approval at the same time.

The desire for the opportunity to participate and the desire for affiliation becomes more difficult for women as they move to the top where they are more of a minority and are likely to run the "risk of losing female friendship, respect, influence and access to information" (Miller, Labovitz, and Lincoln, 1975). In effect, women are outsider individuals in insider roles.

Given these reasons for believing that women are less able to successfully negotiate the political system, we tried to determine whether the perception of politics accounted for their job satisfaction and loyalty to the organization. Statistical analysis of the data showed that our expectation was true. Perception of an elite political environment did negatively affect women's satisfaction at higher levels of the organization, but had no such effect on the attitudes of men.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP--A GUIDE TO TACTICS

The term political leadership is important to review before describing the tactics that are necessary for performing effectively in high level positions. The word political is important because the power exchanges at the top <u>are</u> personal, informal, and subtle. It <u>is</u> an inherent quality of dynamic change that the caricature of the influence peddler--cagey, diplomatic double-talking, backslapping, self-assured--

will be influential. At the same time, the word leadership is appropriate, for it is possible to be goal directed, objective, ethical, and fair as one operates in a system where objectivity and rationality are hard to find. By political leadership, we mean the pursuit of rational goals and stable achievement in an environment that is inherently political and changing. By political leadership, we recognize the desirability of rational and equitable solutions and concurrently recognize that in high level decision-making positions, such decisions must be bargained for in a political environment.

Political leadership alters popularly held notions about effective communication. The humanistic guides of the last two decades have emphasized feelings, directness, and disclosure as underlying principles of authentic communications. These guides are effective for interpersonal problem-solving as they remove clutter, generate information, and increase trust between people. Humanistic principles operate effectively in systems where humanistic rules are shared through organizational development programs, but can be disasterous when practiced in a goal-ambiguous political system. A distinction is made here between humanistic problem-solving and political influence. The assumptions of each are appropriate for different environments and require the individual to be able to switch between humanistic and political relationship models. The political rules are seen as fitting in political environments described above.

It may be helpful to view the bargaining rules offered below as an extension of assertiveness training. Many of the concepts contained in asser-

tiveness training (Jakubowski-Spector, 1976) support the forceful roles required for women in organizations. The emphasis on a firm stand for one's position, the right to express one's preferences, and the acknowledgement of each party's position, are all consistent with bargaining requirements in interpersonal situations. Yet the needs of organizational bargaining are not solely consistent with the direct emphasis of assertiveness training. In environments where different leaders are negotiating for their share of the resources, a different set of rules seem to be important. Rules are needed that not only emphasize asserting one's position, but pursuing that position over time in contact with other bargainers who are skilled at engineering situations to suit their interests. The following list of rules are an example of the specific rules women could be trained to use when negotiating political environments.

Rule 1: Treat it as a game

Because the subunit leader is representing his/her component of the organization, it is necessary to present personal strength and success as the leader of the subunit. This requires strategic behavior, moves, indirectness, and often impersonal responses. It is important to treat organization bargaining in a game-like impression-management fashion. It is important not to become personally embroiled in conflicts over one's position, to keep some psychic distance from the events that are taking place.

Rule 2: Develop coalitions to generate support

Each organizational leader has a different network of relationships arising from different circumstances. It is necessary to seek out informal relationships for information and support. The network can be considered as a reflection of your selection of voluntary relationships that best support your ethics, your interests, your intelligence, your political savvy, and your professional values (Johnson and Browning, 1979). A way of developing a coalition is to invite participation in your plans. Consensus decision-making is a close cousin to coalition development.

Rule 3: Operate opportunistically

Define problems as having something to do with your expertise. Present yourself as a person with a point of view on organizational problems. It is necessary to remain central in order to have access to information.

Rule 4: Disclose positions strategically

Unequal amounts of information about motivations and preferences cause the person giving the least information to have the greatest power. Having one's position clear in a bargaining situation also makes winning and losing explicit. This is avoided in bargaining to allow losing participants to save face and continue in the process. Also, it is sometimes better to get others to make the opening move in a negotiation. Their position may be more favorable to your own than you had predicted.

Rule 5: Manage the public presentation of winning and losing strategically

Do not win too greatly or frequently or cause another to lose too devastatingly. Winning too greatly causes a sudden power shift and makes the winner vulnerable to reduction strategies of others. Do not cause others to lose too greatly as long as their continued participation is important (it usually is). This strategic rule separates a gamesman from a jungle fighter (MacCoby, 1976). When you lose, be careful about the humanistic role of sharing feelings--including joys and sorrows. Disclosure may be interpreted as a weakness which invites more losses. Adapt to the need to have a public face and accept the need to protect it.

Rule 6: Have patience

The person who is willing to spend time on an issue is in a strong position for three reasons: (1) By providing his/her energy to a problem, a basis for a claim is laid. If he/she is willing to spend time, a person can expect a more tolerant consideration of the problems he/she considers important. (2) By spending time on the decision, he/she becomes a major information source in an information-poor world. (3) By investing time in organizational concerns, a person increases the chance of being present when something important to him/her is considered (Cohen and March, 1974).

Also, delay is a favorite tactic of bargainers. It is for a simple reason: to delay a topic doesn't require considering its merits; it only requires a justification that the present time is inappropriate. Delay from another may be a test of your commitment to a position. It is usually wise to trust delays. Don't push people into decisions they might

make differently under later circumstances. No decision is often better than a wrong decision.

Rule 7: Always have an option

Always have another move to make in the negotiation. Avoid being forced into an unfavorable position by continuing to keep the search for a solution open. This can be done by anticipating bargaining situations and reviewing in advance the range of opttions you desire and the responses of others you can anticipate. Options can be increased by the use of Rule 4, by verbal skill at altering the flow of conversation when you are caught, and by the maintenance of slack resources to put out when pressed.

Rule 8: Interpret history

Where information in an organization is poorly maintained, definitions of what is happening and what has happened become important tactical instruments. The genuine interest in keeping a substantive record of what has happened is minimal, but the legitimacy of history as the basis for current action is fairly strong. The person who interprets history is likely to have an impact on present definitions of problems and resources.

Rule 9: Spend time learning the rules

Rules are talked about indirectly if at all, therefore it is necessary to learn the rules by observation and experience. Tacit rule learning is one of the initiation rights. It also causes members to feel they are socializing you into the organization. You can't place a value on the rules until you know what they are.

Rule 10: Use humor

Hennig and Jardin (1977) report that one of the most difficult obstacles for women is to deal with the kidding. Humor is frequently used in relationship negotiation because it is powerful (it draws attention, is creative), but it is also indirect enough that it separates the jokester from his actions. To respond with humor demonstrates a willingness to play the game as another has defined it. Humorous responses are also a signal to the other party they are in the presence of a person to be reckoned with.

Rule 11: Be clear on your willingness to risk

The most important rule for a woman--and it is important to consider after the other rules have been laid out--is to decide clearly whether the participation in the bargaining setting is worth it. Are the sacrifices necessary to learn and compete as an organizational politician worth the outcomes? If the answer is yes, then a sense of psychological and financial autonomy is necessary to be able to take the risks to support programs and ideas that she feels are important. Once a person is viewed as financially needing a job, they are assumed to be willing to make extensive concessions to keep it. As the gambler know: You cannot win with scared money.

Although the rules of operating in ambiguous political environments may not change, the sex roles of men and women are likely to experience more equalizing shifts in the future. A move toward shared careers with men and women equalizing the opportunities for interesting work and profesional competence through experience with the responsibilities of chores and joys of raising children, and giving personal and logistical

support to a partner is not unrealistic. The emphasis on androgenous sex roles which legitimize the performance of masculine and feminine traits by both women and men may also serve to make preparation for and entry into leadership positions less of a sex role-related issue.

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